

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 081715 TOSEC 030077

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TWO ADDRESSEE SAME LINE)

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-2

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: BRITISH RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSED
NEGOTIATING STRATEGY

REF: STATE 079045

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF BRITISH RESPONSE TO PROPOSAL
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IN REFTEL, COPY OF WHICH YOU GAVE PETER JAY MONDAY
EVENING. BRITISH MINISTER ROBINSON SAYS RESPONSE CAME
FROM DAVID OWEN AND WAS APPROVED BY CALLAGHAN JUST
THIS EVENING.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

A. THE TERMS FOR ATTENDING FOR A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES.

I STILL BELIEVE THIS SHOULD FOLLOW THE LINES I SPELLED OUT IN MY SPEECH TO THE PILGRIMS, WHICH WAS AN ELABORATION OF WHAT I AGREED IN WASHINGTON WITH CY VANCE. IF THE UNITED STATES AGREE, WE SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND ALL THE PARTIES THAT THIS WILL BE THE BASIS OF THE MEETING AND WE WILL NOT ACCEPT TERMS OF REFERENCE LIMITED ONLY TO THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PROPOSALS, FOR TO DO THIS WOULD MAKE ATTENDANCE

VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SALISBURY TALKERS.

B. THE PLACE OF THE MEETING

I AM RELAXED ABOUT THE VENUE AND WOULD FIT IN WITH VANCE'S ARRANGMENTS. I WOULD MYSELF BE CONTENT TO GO TO NEW YORK. HOWEVER A PLACE IN AFRICA, EITHER JUST INSIDE RHODESIA OR ON THE RHODESIA/ZAMBIA BORDER MIGHT BE BEST FOR THE MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES. CY VANCE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO MAKE THE BEST PART OF A WEEK AVAILABLE FOR THE LATER MEETING.

C. ON THIS BASIS I AM AGREEABLE TO MEET THE PF FIRST (TO ESTABLISH THE ACCEPTANCE IN SUBSTANCE OF THE AAP) ON THE CONDITION SUGGESTED BY CY VANCE, NAMELY THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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WE GET A GUARANTEE IN ADVANC: FROM THE PF AND NYERERE THAT THE PF WILL THEN ATTEND WITHIN 48 HOURS A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES AS IN (1) ABOVE. I COULD BE AVAILABLE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CENTO MEETING FOR TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN NEW YORK IF THEY ARE PREPARED TO MEET THERE, OR ALTERNATIVELY IF WE CONTINUE THE MEETING I WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR A MEETING WITH ALL PARTIES TO TAKE PLACE IN THE FIRST FORTNIGHT OF MAY.

D. I AGREE THAT LOW AND GRAHAM SHOULD FIRST VISIT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN MAPUTO OR LUSAKA AND THE SALISBURY TALKERS PREFERABLY IN SALISBURY, TO TRY AND ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES TO AGREE DATE AND PLACE, AND TO ESTABLISH THE TERMS ON WHICH THE MEETINGS WOULD TAKE PLACE. WE WOULD NOT COMMIT OURSELVES TO A VANCE/OWEN MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT UNLESS WE WERE ABLE TO AGREE A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES. IF WE FAIL TO ESTABLISH A MEETING OF ALL THE PARTIES WE WOULD THEN NEED TO TAKE A SEPARATE DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO MEET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

E. I WOULD BE CONTENT FOR A JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE LOW/GRAHAM MISSION TO COME OUT AT WHATEVER MOMENT BEST SUITS PRESIDENT CARTER WITH A VIEW TO LOW AND GRAHAM TRAVELLING TO AFRICA AT A CONVENIENT MOMENT THE FOLLOWING WEEK (IE AROUND 11/12 APRIL.) END TEXT

3. PERTINENT QUOTES FROM OWEN'S SPEECH TO THE PILGRIMS ARE EXTRACTED AS FOLLOWS:

A. " WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CONDEMN OUT OF HAND THE SALISBURY TALKS. AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS POINTED OUT, WE HAVE NOT REJECTED THE INDIVIDUAL COMPONENT PARTS TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OVERALL ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN AND, TO THAT EXTENT, BOTH PRESIDENT CARTER AND I HAVE SAID THAT THEY ARE A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. BUT EQUALLY WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE SALISBURY PROPOSALS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE INADEQUATE AND SERIOUSLY DEFECTIVE PARTICULARLY IN THE AREAS TO WHICH WE ATTACH MAJOR IMPORTANCE, NAMELY, THE REALITY OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER, AND LAW AND ORDER."

B. "....I BELIEVE THAT ALL OF US MUST NOW BE PREPARED IN THE INTERESTS OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT TO ENTER INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS. WE ARE THEREFORE ASKING EVERYONE IN THE INTEREST OF ZIMBABWE TO COME TOGETHER, EVEN AT THIS LATE HOURS, TO SEE IF WE CAN NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT. NO ONE NEED COME TO THIS MEETING CONCEDING IN ADVANCE ANY OF THEIR PREVIOUS POSITIONS. ATTENDANCE AT THE DISCUSSIONS CARRIES NO RECOGNITION IN ANY WAY WHATEVER. IT CONFERS NO LEGALITY ON WHAT IS AND REMAINS ILLEGAL. ALL WE ASK IS THE READINESS TO TRY TO PUT THE FUTURE OF ZIMBABWE FIRST, FOR ALL TO BE PREPARED TO EXAMINE THE ISSUES OBJECTIVELY IN A GENUINE SEARCH FOR PEACE."

4. IN CONVEYING RESPONSE ROBINSON SAID PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN PERSONALLY FEELS THAT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT THAT NYERERE HIMSELF INSURE THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL ACCEPT THESE CONDITIONS, I.E., AN ADVANCE COMMITMENT TO PROCEED WITH AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WITHIN 48 HOURS OF A PRELIMINARY MEETING, AND THAT TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE ALL PARTIES MEETING NOT BE LIMITED TO THE AAP. ROBINSON FELT CALLAGHAN'S COMMENT WAS ALSO PERTINENT TO THE ADVANCE CONSULTATION ENVISIONED IN PARAGRAPH 2D ABOVE.

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5. COMMENT: IT APPEARS BRITISH HAVE GIVEN VERY STRICT READING TO NYERERE'S COMMENT THAT MEETING WITH PF COULD BE AS LITTLE AS 48 HOURS BEFORE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE. THEY HAVE ALSO ASSUMED THAT PRELIMINARY MEETING WITH PF SHOULD BE AT VANCE/OWEN LEVEL RATHER THAN WORKING LEVEL SUGGESTED IN THIRD FROM LAST POINT IN REFTEL. THUS,

THEY HAVE ASSUMED THAT LOW-GRAHAM-CARVER LEVEL MEETING WE SUGGESTED WOULD SIMPLY BE ADVANCE CONSULTATION TO CONFIRM ARRANGEMENTS FOR HIGHER LEVEL MEETINGS AND WOULD NOT DISCUSS SUBSTANCE. (THERE IS SOME ADDED CONFUSION ON THIS POINT AS EARLY VERSION COPY OF REFTEL HANDED TO JAY HAD NOT INCLUDED CARVER IN THIRD FROM LAST TICK.)

6. ON INITIAL EXAMINATION, IT APPEARS BRITISH POSITION MAY BE TOO STRICT TO REINSTATE USEFUL DIALOGUE WITH PF, ALTHOUGH THIS MAY BE BECAUSE THEY ASSUMED FROM VANCE-JAY CONVERSATION THAT WE WERE AIMING FOR HIGH LEVEL SUBSTANTIVE MEETING. IN CONVEYING YOUR REACTION TO THEIR CONDITIONS FOR PROCEEDING WITH A MEETING, WE MIGHT ASK WHETHER THEY WOULD TAKE THE SAME POSITION TOWARD IDEA OF WORKING LEVEL MEETING AT THE LOW-GRAHAM-CARVER LEVEL. PLEASE ADVISE. COOPER

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